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THE ADMINISTRATION VINDICATED.

S P E E C H

SENATOR WILSON,

AT THE

COOPER INSTITUTE,
NEW YORK.*Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens of New York :*

In obedience to your commands I am here to speak for the unity and triumph of the Republican party of the United States. I am a Republican from conviction and by association. I care far more for the Republican party than for the interests, aspirations, and ambitions of any thousand men in America. [Applause.] I labored from the year 1836 to the year 1856—twenty years—to create a great, patriotic, liberty-loving organization that should make the Republic of the United States a free land. [Applause.] Sixteen years ago the Republican party was brought into existence. I religiously believe that it came into being through the prayers, the labors, and noblest aspirations of the best portion of our countrymen. [Applause.] I believe, too, that it was brought into existence to meet the needs of the endangered country, and to work out in America the plans of Almighty God. [Applause.] And so believing, from the time it was created until this hour, I have never consciously uttered a word or performed an act to drive any man out of its ranks. Whoever has left us in the past has left us against my wishes, and whoever shall leave us now, or in the future, will leave us against my protestations. I implore, in words of earnest entreaty, every Republican who would turn his back on our grand organization, with its brilliant deeds and glorious achievements, to pause, to come back, to stand with us, to fight with us the battle of this year, and to share with us in the triumphs of the future. [Cheers.]

The Republican party has in its ranks three and a half millions of men. It has in its organization the masses of the noblest, purest, and best portions of our countrymen. [Cheers.] But Republicans are not all wise, or all good. They have the imperfections of

our common nature. But I would not disrupt the Republican party because its members are not all perfect. I would hope on, toil on, make them better if I could, make them worthy of its great history, true exponents of its great principles. [Applause.] I would as soon go home and disband the little church in the town in which I live, of which my departed wife was a member and I an unworthy one, because some Christian minister proved false to his God, or some poor, weak, fallible member did not live up to the profession he had made.

Men of New York! I speak to you to-night from the deepest convictions of my soul. I pray you who have stood with the Republican party; you who voted for and stood by the grandest character of our century, Abraham Lincoln; [great cheers:] you who waded through four years of blood to maintain the unity of your country and the authority of your Government; you who emancipated a race; you who repudiated Andrew Johnson and his treason, and who spurned his patronage; [applause.] I implore you who voted for the great soldier in 1858, [applause,] and who have put your country on the side of liberty, justice, humanity, and Christian civilization, to stand together now, win another great victory, and rejoice again in the triumph of the good old cause. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, there was a meeting here the other night of those who propose to disrupt the Republican organization, which has achieved so much in the past, and in which are centered so many hopes for the future. These gentlemen propose to take a new departure. Forgetful of the precious memories of the past, and the associations of the present, they seek to form new combinations and new friendships. I have no unkind or reproachful words to utter of old comrades. I did not come here to impeach

their motives, or to traduce their characters. I must, however, express my utter surprise and my profound regret at their words of condemnation of the great party with which they have acted, and whose principles, measures, and policy they have so long sustained.

These honorable gentlemen tell us that the Republican party is under the control and domination of office-holders. So they propose, without a struggle, to go to the Cincinnati Convention. The Republican party under the control of office-holders! A party of three and a half millions of intelligent and independent men controlled by a few thousand beggarly office-holders! The idea is simply ridiculous. There never was a moment in our history when office-holders were so impotent as now. To be an office-holder is to be a beggar. The offices of the country hardly pay a decent support to nine-tenths of those who hold them. You know it, I know it, the country knows it. Thirty years ago office-holding was something; it was a great object of ambition. If not an avenue to wealth, it was an avenue to social distinction and personal influence and consideration. A great change has taken place, and greater changes will take place. Every day office-holding becomes less and less an avenue to wealth, social distinction, and personal consideration. Everybody sees this, everybody feels it. The professions, the great industrial interests of the country, yearly draw to themselves more and more the talent, the enterprise, and the ambition of the nation. Look at the learned professions. Lawyers now receive fees that Daniel Webster and the learned jurists of his day never dreamed of receiving. Look at your railroads and your telegraph lines, with their vast capital and patronage, your banks and insurance companies, your mercantile associations and manufacturing corporations, with their thousands of millions of capital, and their billions of production. These professions, these industrial pursuits open avenues for talent and enterprise, and offer rewards not to be won on the theatre of political action. They are these professional men, these builders and operators of railroads and telegraphs, these bankers and merchants, these workers in the great industries of our time, that build the fine houses and live in them, that have paintings, statues, and libraries, and possess all the comforts and luxuries that adorn and render attractive social life. Of the sixty thousand office-holders more than forty thousand are postmasters, their clerks and employees. Nearly half of these postmasters receive salaries of less than two hundred dollars a year; and these poor office-holders, with small salaries, hardly large enough to feed and clothe them and

their families or to bury them when dead, are said by those who ought to know better, to hold the Republican party and this nation of forty millions in thralldom. To escape from the iron rule of a few thousand of ill-paid and half-starved office-holders, Mr. Schurz and Mr. Trumbull and other honorable gentlemen, with incomes and professional salaries of thousands per annum, make a journey to Cincinnati.

They tell us that the National Republican Convention, which is to assemble in Philadelphia in June next, is to be the office-holders' convention. Suppose we say that the convention which is to meet at Cincinnati at an earlier day, is to be the office-seekers' convention. I do not say it, but you can think what you will about it. The indications are that a great many ex-office-holders will be there; and of those who have sought office in vain, not a few. [Laughter.] Gentlemen, I have no hesitation in saying that the Republican National Convention, which will meet in Philadelphia, will have fewer office-holders in it, and fewer members of Congress in it, than have assembled in any convention of the party, in power, for thirty years. Office-holders have had little to do with the election of delegates, and few of them have been elected as delegates. In looking over the delegations of eight States I find but five office-holders among them all. That convention will not be elected or controlled by the patronage of the Government. The unity touching the choice of the candidate for the Presidency was not secured by the labors of office-holders or by the patronage of the Government. Where there are the fewest office-holders and the least patronage there is the most unity. Go to the sections of our country where they have few office-holders and little patronage, and you will find the Republican party united in supporting the measures of the Administration, and quite unanimous in favor of the re-election of President Grant. Patronage, not principle, breeds dissensions in the Republican ranks. In your city of New York, in Philadelphia, New Orleans, and other large cities, where there are many office-holders and large patronage, there are dissensions and divisions. This office holding and office-seeking, this distribution of patronage, and these little personal and petty ambitions, are alone breaking the unity of the Republican party and inviting disaster. The leading ideas and principles, measures and policy of the Republican party, are stronger to-day than the party itself. Friend and foe alike see this, realize it, admit it. [Applause.]

Accusations are hurled with unsparing hand against President Grant, Congress, and the Republican party. In this work of criticism, accusation, and denunciation, Repub-

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hican voices and presses take the lead; and gentlemen, bearing the Republican name, in striking at the Administration, sometimes seems to lose the sense of justice and the love of fair play. Mr. Trumbull, with whom I have served seventeen years in the Senate, and whom I have long honored and respected, left his post of duty, as I have done, and addressed the citizens of New York in this hall the other night. I have it not in my heart to say an unkind word of him, but truth compels me to declare that every man in the country, who heard or read that speech, and who is an intelligent and fair minded man, instantly pronounced it to be unfounded and disingenuous.

Among the accusations brought against the Republican party, was the charge that disabilities had been kept upon certain men of the South. Did not Mr. Trumbull vote for imposing disabilities upon that class of Southern men? On this subject of political disabilities I claim that I have a right to speak; for I stood up alone in the Republican caucus, and voted against incorporating that clause in the Fourteenth Amendment. [Applause.] I did not believe that it was wise, or politically expedient, to adopt a provision of that kind, and in that form. But I acquiesced in the judgment of my political associates, as I have often done, voted for the proposition in the Senate, and supported it before the people. I have been for years for removing these disabilities from all but the few men who left the Cabinet, the Senate, and the House, and joined the enemies of their country. If any of the men who left those chambers, and raised their hands against their country, but who have borne themselves, since the war, like good citizens, ask me to remove their disabilities I will vote most cheerfully to do so. Mr. Trumbull knew, when he arraigned Congress for illiberality, that the disabilities of hundreds of men who had not given in their adhesion to the Republican party, had been removed. He knew that there were several officers of the rebel army, colonels and generals, who were members of the House of Representatives, whose disabilities were removed by the Republicans, knowing that they were their political foes.

In his annual message in December last, President Grant, animated by the same spirit of liberality towards his erring countrymen that he exhibited at Appomattox, when the rebel chieftain surrendered his army, recommended the removal of these political disabilities. The House of Representatives, by an almost unanimous vote, hastened to pass a bill for this removal. It came from the House to the Senate and was taken up for consideration before the holidays. Mr. Sumner moved to put upon the bill a provision, securing civil rights to all, so that when the

nation gave amnesty, it should give protection also; a protracted debate ensued; action was delayed. Some of us thought that if we were to be merciful to the rebels we should, at the same time, demand justice for the freedmen. I voted for that amendment, others voted for it. It was then put upon the bill by the casting vote of the Vice President, and the amnesty bill was there lost by a vote of 33 to 19. Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Schurz, and Mr. Tipton, who now propose to go to Cincinnati to get amnesty, had it in their power to pass the amnesty bill through the Senate. Mr. Schurz did not vote; and Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Tipton voted against it. If they had voted for it, it would have passed the Senate by a vote of 36 to 17—more than the required two-thirds vote. When Mr. Trumbull arraigned us here for the defeat of amnesty, he knew that the bill was defeated in the Senate by his own vote and the vote of Mr. Tipton, and that the responsibility for the defeat of the measure in that body rested upon them. He knew, too, that an effort has been making for several weeks to pass a civil rights bill through the House, so that we could have before the Senate, at the same time, two measures, one for civil rights, and the other for amnesty, and thus be able to pass them both. I hope, and I expect, that measures for civil rights, and for amnesty will be passed at this session, and in that hope and expectation I shall labor on to accomplish those desired results.

Mr. Trumbull goes to Cincinnati to get civil service reform. But surely Mr. Trumbull could not have forgotten that General Grant had recommended civil service reform in his annual message of 1870, and that, upon his own motion, an appropriation was made to begin the reform the President had so earnestly recommended. The President appointed an able commission, upon which he placed such men as Mr. Cattell, of New Jersey, Mr. Medill, of Illinois, and Mr. Elliot, of the Treasury Department, at the head of which was your accomplished fellow-citizen, George W. Curtis. [Applause.] That commission has been sitting for many months, and has given to the subject the most searching examination. It presented a partial plan, accompanied by an elaborate report, which the President laid before Congress. But Congress failing to act, and the plan reported proving, in some of its details, impracticable, the commission, after further consideration, agreed upon a more practical measure, which has been accepted by the President and proclaimed by him to the country this day. [Applause.]

During General Grant's administration, the executive departments at Washington have been largely reorganized, systematized, and improved. The employees have been reduced in number and improved

in quality. I have no hesitation in saying that the offices in Washington have not been, in many years, so well filled as they have been under this Administration. The Secretary of the Treasury said to me the other day that he had no hesitation in saying that this department, with its two thousand clerks and employees, would not suffer in comparison with the banks and great business establishments of New York. In spite of these recommendations, and this action of the President and the heads of departments, in which many reforms have already been inaugurated, it is proposed by Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Schurz to go to the Cincinnati convention in the pursuit of civil-service reform. Would it not be wiser in these honorable gentlemen to sustain the President and the heads of the departments in any practicable measure that tends to correct abuses, and to purify and render more efficient the public service?

Mr. Trumbull arraigned the President for having at the Executive mansion two or three army officers, and for sending his messages to the Senate by one of these army officers. What is General Grant's offense? It is this, and no more: that he has in the Executive mansion two army officers, trusted personal friends, who were upon his staff for five years. These officers are now upon the staff of General Sherman, the commanding general of the army. Gen. Babcock is Commissioner of the Public Buildings, whose office the law requires should be filled by an officer of the army. General Porter and Colonel Dent are permitted to go to the Executive mansion, not to fill any office, for they fill none known to the law, but to aid General Grant in examining papers and in reading and answering his immense correspondence. This labor they perform without any compensation whatever. Do you believe, fellow-citizens, does any sane man in America believe, that the liberties of the country are endangered by having two army officers in the White House? Does Mr. Trumbull, does Mr. Schurz believe, is there a man in the country so timid as to believe that General Grant menaces the liberties of the people by having with him two young army officers? Is there anything in the world more natural than that General Grant should desire to have with him, to aid him in his immense labors, men who had been with him in the camp and on the battle field, and in the intimate and confidential relation of staff officers?

Had Mr. Trumbull looked into the history of his country he would have found that General Grant is not the first President who has desired to have around him some one of his old comrades in arms. The first message ever sent to the Senate of the United States was borne by Major General Henry Knox,

then Secretary of War, who had been Washington's companion in arms during the Revolution, and perhaps his most intimate personal friend. When General Jackson came to the Presidency he appointed his old aide, Major Donelson, his secretary. General Taylor took with him from the army to the Executive Mansion his son-in-law, Major Bliss, and kept him with him so long as he lived. After his death that officer returned to the army. Were Washington and Jackson enemies to their country because they sent messages to the Senate by the hands of men who had been their comrades in the field? Did the hero of Buena Vista endanger the liberties of the people by taking his son-in-law and chief of staff from the army and sending by him messages to the Senate?

Other Presidents, who were not military men, have had persons holding military commissions in their service. Mr. Lincoln had Major John Hay, who held a commission in the army, with him for many months. President Johnson crowded the Executive Mansion with military men. He had with him Col. Moore, Col. Morrow, Col. Long, Col. Reeves, and Col. McKeever, of the army, and Gen. Muzzey and Col. Robert Johnson, his own son, who had served in the volunteer forces. In the face of this well-known fact Mr. Trumbull asks, by way of contrast, the question: "Had Andy Johnson filled the White House with officers, what would have been said about it?" President Johnson not only had these officers with him, but he had a company of troops. He had guards posted outside of the White House, around it, and inside of it. When President Grant entered the White House as President, these guards saluted him. The next day he sent these guards away, and in a few days after he sent away four companies of cavalry and a regiment of infantry stationed in Washington. There has not been, for more than two years, a soldier nearer than Fort Washington, away down on the Potomac. [Applause.] Now, my Republican friends, do you think you ought to run to the Cincinnati Convention because Gen. Grant has with him two of his old staff officers?

But Mr. Trumbull tells us that we have a law that military men should not be appointed to civil offices, nor perform the duty of civil offices. The accusation, therefore, is that General Grant keeps these staff officers of the army in the Executive Mansion in violation of law. I take issue with Mr. Trumbull upon that allegation. The law does not apply to the case of these officers and was never intended to apply to them. I know whereof I affirm. These officers were in the Executive Mansion when I reported the bill, and I affirm that it was not my intention, nor the intention of the military committee, nor the

intention of Congress, to apply this act to these officers; and that it does not apply to these officers. They are filling no civil offices known to the law, performing no duties of civil offices known to the law. They have no civil responsibilities, are held by law to no responsibilities, and receive no compensation for the labor they perform for the President. Should they leave the Executive Mansion, or be sent to their position in the army, they would resign no offices, would be removed from no offices, and no persons could be appointed to take their places.

This is not only the correct view of the case, but it was the view taken by Mr. Trumbull when this act was pending in the Senate on the 12th of May, 1870. In that debate Mr. Trumbull said, to fulfill the functions of a civil office, an officer "must be the officer;" he must have the power of the office if he performs the functions of the office. I do not understand that a person can fulfill the functions of a civil office, unless he hold the civil office. He must be the officer. That is the meaning of the section as I understand it. The offices of private secretary and assistant secretary are filled by civilians who are on duty at the White House. These military officers do not fill the offices of private secretary and assistant secretary, nor perform their duties. These military officers hold no civil office known to the law, and, according to Mr. Trumbull's definition of the act, they cannot fulfill the functions of civil offices unless they are the officers. In having the aid of these officers at the White House the President has violated no law: nor can the people be made to believe that the detail of a couple of army officers—old members of his staff during the war—to aid him in opening and reading his letters, and in his other multifarious labors endanger their liberties.

The Republican party has been for years accused of violating the Constitution; of assumptions of power; of centralizing tendencies, and of encroachments upon the rights of the States. These accusations were made during the war, and since the war. Its measures for the defense of the country, and for the suppression of the rebellion, for the emancipation of the slaves, and for their enfranchisement, were bitterly denounced as palpable violations of the Constitution. Its grand series of acts for patriotism and liberty, that history will record and the world will remember, have been denounced as assumptions of power, and arbitrary encroachments upon the rights of the States and the liberties of the people. The men who propose to go to Cincinnati join in this work of denunciation. Mr. Trumbull comes here and makes those accusations against the Republican party, and especially against the Administration. But if Congress has as-

sumed unwarranted powers, if it has encroached on the reserved rights of the States, if its legislation has tended to centralization, Mr. Trumbull must share with us the responsibility for these assumptions, encroachments, and tendencies. Surely it does not become the author of the civil rights act, that goes farther, in the direction he now condemns, than all other measures we have ever passed, to reproach those of us who followed his lead.

Mr. Trumbull joins, too, in the outcry, now so rife, about the corruption of the Administration. I have no apologies to make for the corrupt practices of any set of men, whether they be political friends or foes. If there is a man on the face of the globe that despises a thief I am the man. [Applause.] If there is a man that loathes a Republican thief more than any other, I am the man. [Applause.] In my conception, the boss thief of the universe, Bill Tweed, in view of his surroundings, associations, and opportunities, is quite an innocent person, in comparison with that man who joins the great Republican party in the United States, with its holy mission and work, and then betrays high trusts, violates the Divine command, steals from the country that honored him, and disgraces the party that trusted him. [Applause.]

When Andrew Johnson was in power, you know, and I know, the demoralized constitution of the public service. Faithless public men held office, the whisky ring rioted in corruption. The Republican party, in National Convention, pledged its life to check, and, if possible, to extirpate this corruption. General Grant heartily joined in that great work. What is the result? The whisky ring is dead. The revenues from whisky have been increased every year four fold over the last year of Johnson's administration. General Grant's administration has arrested, tried, and convicted more thieves than all the Administrations from 1781. There have been, in thirty-five months, arrested, tried, convicted, and punished by fine or imprisonment, two hundred and seventy-eight men, not in office, for robbing and cheating the Government, or attempting to rob and cheat the Government. Several faithless office-holders have been arrested, tried, convicted, fined, or imprisoned; and some of them are sleeping in penitentiaries to night. [Applause.]

Every department of the Government has been, during the past three years, honestly, persistently, and effectively engaged in detecting, exposing, and punishing office-holders and others, who have cheated the Government, or stolen the public moneys. The results have been that less than one-fiftieth part of one per cent. of the collections and expenditures of the Government has been

stolen; a less percentage, I believe, than has been stolen under any Administration for forty years. I have undoubting faith that President Grant and the heads of departments will continue their reformatory work, and that thieves, defaulters, and smugglers will be hunted down, and punished whenever found. [Applause.] It is a singular fact that, while General Grant is bitterly assailed and his administration denounced as corrupt, for personal ends and partisan purposes, there is no question of the fact that he is the best abused and hated man in America by these same defaulters, thieves, smugglers, and defrauders of the revenue, as also by the dishonored, corrupt, and tainted politicians of the land.

Accusations have been recently made against the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Trumbull joins in those accusations. He accused the Secretary here the other night with having violated the law in the examination and payment of a claim of Secor & Co. for \$93,000. He gave it to be distinctly understood that Secor & Co. had claims against the Government; that they had been submitted to a board; that the board had reported upon these claims the sum of \$115,000 as full payment for these claimants; that the case had been reopened, referred to another board, and \$93,000 had been paid by the Secretary in violation of law; paid out of appropriations, too, in violation of law; and that his action had been sustained by the Second Comptroller of the Treasury. This is the substance of the accusation.

Gentlemen, this is one of the most groundless—and unjust, too—accusations ever made against a public man in America. It is based upon the merest technicalities, and has not the element of justice or fair play in it. The Secretary has law on his side, and equity on his side. Gentlemen, whenever I hear that there is any misconduct in any of the Departments, I feel it my duty immediately to communicate the fact to the proper officers. Whenever accusations are made that have the semblance of truth, I believe it my duty to go to the proper officers and ascertain the facts. I believe it not only wrong to steal and apologize for or justify theft, but I believe it quite as wrong to make false accusations, or to sustain others in making false accusations. I have examined this case. I know Mr. Robeson, the Secretary of the Navy. I believe him to be a man of capacity and fidelity—of individual honor and personal character. I went to him for an explanation. His explanation satisfied me that he had violated no law and sanctioned no corruption. I went to Mr. Brodhead, the Second Comptroller. I knew his capacity, his long and large experience, and his purity and integrity. I knew that this inflexible integrity, this large experience, and great

knowledge had saved millions of dollars to the United States. To my question he replied that he had given the subject the most careful consideration, and that the Secretary had acted strictly according to law, and that he had justice and equity on his side.

This claim was not considered by the board appointed by the act of 1867. It was a claim for material and labor, not a claim for damages. The Secretary of the Navy had full, complete, and ample power to settle all claims for material or labor. He had no authority, however, to settle claims for damages occasioned by the delays of the Government. The act of 1867 was intended to cover that class of claims for damages, and not claims for material and labor; and the board of officers so construed it and acted upon it. That board reported \$115,000 for claims for damages; but it never considered the claims for labor and material at all, knowing that the Secretary had full, complete, and ample power to settle that class of claims. The law of 1868 authorized the payment of the sum of \$115,000, reported by the board. The receipt in full was not to be for all claims, but for all claims passed upon by that board; not for all claims on account of the vessels, as is asserted, but for all claims on account of the vessels upon which the board made its allowance, as per report. This claim for \$93,000 for material and labor—which had not been paid or allowed—had been reserved for further consideration. Its various items were examined by a board of officers, and were reported to be "correct and just charges." They were ordered to be paid and were paid from money in the Treasury for purposes of construction, out of which like claims had been paid by the former Secretary. This claim for \$93,000, allowed by the board and paid by the Secretary, was a claim for material and labor, and not a claim for damages. It is admitted that it was not considered by the board appointed according to the act of 1867, nor was it rejected by it. It was a debt, not barred either by the letter or by the spirit of the law. This was the view of the Secretary of the Navy and the final decision of the Second Comptroller of the Treasury; and they acted, I conscientiously believe, in obedience to law and according to the claims of justice and equity.

Gentlemen, I tell you what I know to be true, that under this Administration the revenues have been annually increased by tens of millions under the same revenue laws, simply by their more faithful enforcement. The expenses of the nation have been annually diminished through mere vigilance and economy by tens of millions annually. All the departments of the Government at Washington have been im-

proved, made more efficient, and their forces and expenses reduced. Much has been done. More should be done, and, I am confident, more will be done.

But Mr. Trumbull tells you, here in New York, that we cannot reduce expenses because the office-holders are so powerful. He talks about reducing the expenses of the Government fifty millions annually. Mr. Trumbull has been seventeen years in the Senate of the United States. He is a man of capacity and experience. He knows how to do public business. Has he devised or proposed any plan by which the expenses of the Government shall be annually reduced fifty millions of dollars, ten millions of dollars, five millions of dollars, or even one million of dollars? I am ready, I am sure the Senate is ready, I believe the Administration is ready, to follow the lead of Mr. Trumbull, or any other Senator, in any practical measure that proposes or that tends to reduce the expenditures of the Government. [Applause.]

Sixty-one per cent. of the annual expenditures grew out of the war. Take out those increased expenditures, and the expenses of the Government, measured by the gold standard, have not kept pace with the increased population and wealth of the nation. Mr. Trumbull was wide of the mark, too, in his statements concerning the expenses and debts of the reconstructed States. Great mistakes have been honestly made in those States, especially in regard to the construction of railroads, and great corruption has disgraced both the legislation and administration of some of those governments. The corrupt practices have received, and should ever receive, the reprobation and sternest condemnation of the country. But it is a violation of truth and justice to hold the National Government responsible, or that class of men, so flippantly denounced as carpet-baggers, wholly responsible for these corrupt practices. While many of these denounced carpet baggers have been derelict to the duties imposed upon them, and the opportunity opened to them, to serve the State and win honored names, the great body of them, men, and women too, have advocated measures and labored with earnestness and self-sacrifice for their promotion, for the general improvement of those States, and especially for the elevation of the freedmen.

These gentlemen, who are running away from the people, hide the rank and file of the party for sending delegates to the national convention to favor the nomination of General Grant. They say that the people are for Grant because they are led by office holders. New York, they tell us, is governed by office-holders; Massachusetts is governed by office holders; other States are

governed by office holders; the East, the West, and the South are all governed by office-holders. These poor, deluded fellows, who have such exalted ideas of the omnipotence of office-holders, and such poor opinion of the credulity and imbecility of the masses, should realize that the people of this great country now number forty millions. They should remember that they have passed through one of the greatest wars in the history of the world; that, when leaders and presses faltered, they said, "We will fight it out to the end; take our money, take our sons, take our blood, we will fight and we will die for the country, but the nation shall live." Gentlemen, the masses of the people are now "somebody" in this country. They have held conventions in fourteen States. There is no evidence that a single delegate was elected who is against the renomination of General Grant. There is no evidence that there was a single delegate in any one of these conventions opposed to the President. There is no evidence that there is a school district, not one, which has an anti-Grant Republican majority in it. In spite of the opposition of leading papers, and the known opinion of eminent public men, the people have expressed themselves with unparalleled public unanimity. [Applause.] The conductors of great journals who boast of their independence, but who forget that they have been teaching the people to be quite as independent as themselves, and politicians, who have the idea that political affairs are always to be managed, forgetful of the great truth that the true way to manage is to let management alone, to keep managing hands off, and to let things move right along in their natural channel, do not comprehend this action of the people.

Gentlemen, I will tell you why it is that these editors, Senators, and politicians, who assume to direct public opinion, do not understand the action of the people, and why they ascribe that action to the dominating influence and control of the office-holders. They forget that in the civil war Gen. Grant commanded more than a million of men. They forget that the fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, kindred and friends of these heroes in the field who were fighting, bleeding, and dying for their country, recognized Gen. Grant as the great leader in the war. They forget that these heroic men and their kindred and friends were grateful to him for services he then rendered the country, and that they have not forgotten those services at the bidding of aspiring and disappointed ambition. [Applause.]

The American masses remember that General Grant entered the war a poor, unknown man, and that, against the sharp competition of two millions of brave men who went into

the army, he came to the head, won an illustrious name, and has a glorious military record behind him. They see that he has reduced the expenses of the Government by tens of millions annually, and that he has made our paper currency and bonds worth twenty per cent. more than they were when he came into power. [Applause.] They see that he has paid in thirty-seven months three hundred and fifteen million dollars of the national debt, and they believe he will pay ten or twelve millions more the present month. [Applause.] They see that he has raised the national credit so that we can borrow money at five per cent. in the markets of the world. They see that his firmness and adherence to the plighted faith of the nation has made a public sentiment so strong, for maintaining, unsullied, the good faith of the nation, that no Democratic National Convention dare go into Tammany hall, or any other hall, and proclaim the wicked financial theories announced here four years ago. [Applause.] They see that he has adopted a humane and Christian Indian policy—a policy worthy of a Christian and Republican Government. [Applause.] They see, too, that he has used his great influence, the authority of his high position, and the power of the Government to protect the poor freedman against the murderous blows of the Ku-Klux Klans. [Applause.] Seeing these things the masses of the people who have no personal favors to ask and no grievances to avenge have come to believe that General Grant's administration, with all its faults, is conducted on a higher plane, in both its foreign and domestic policy, than the nation has seen for forty years. So believing they reject the counsels of disappointed ambition, of personal passion, prejudice, and interest, while they still give their confidence, with their abiding faith, to him on whom they learned to lean so trustingly in the dark night of war, and of the nation's peril.

I call upon gentlemen to give up this chaffering with the Democratic leaders, and this managing to baffle the purposes of the Republican masses. Come back, I pray you, to our ranks. They are open to receive you. Go with us to the Philadelphia Convention. You have the unquestionable right to advocate and vote for the candidate of your choice. No one has the right to question you, or criticise you, or to denounce you, for so doing. Give to the Republican party, in National Convention assembled, your opinions, your advice, and your influence. Let the popular will govern. Bow to it. Help us carry the country, make secure the work

of the past, complete what remains to be done for the rights of man and the interests of the nation. I say to those Republicans who are turning their backs upon us, in all the sincerity of my heart, that it is a painful thing to break up old associations, to separate from old friends, with whom we have sorrowed in defeat and rejoiced in victory. Come back to us, let us go unitedly into the impending conflict, resolved to have full possession of the Democratic banners before we furl forever the Republican flag.

Mr. Schurz, the other night, closed his eloquent speech which had in it more assertion than logic, more rhetoric than fact, with the prediction that their banners within a twelve-month would float over the dome of the capitol. I will follow his example and make my prediction. He predicted that the banners of the nominees of the Cincinnati Convention would float over the capitol. I predict that the nominees of that convention, if not supported by the Democratic party, will not receive an electoral vote in the United States, [applause;] that, if supported by the Democratic party, the Republicans will carry from twenty-five to thirty States for the nominees of the Philadelphia Convention. Mr. Schurz refers to his observation and experiences, as assurances of the accuracy of his calculations. I, too, will refer to my observation and experiences, although it may not be an evidence of my modesty to do so. I have looked into the faces of more men in political assemblages than any public man in America. [Applause.] I think I have some little knowledge of public men, of political organizations, and of the sentiments and feelings of masses. I was not mistaken in the votes of 1856 nor of 1860. In 1864 I stated before the election how the votes would stand, and I did not miscalculate the vote of a single State. In 1868 I stated before the election how each State would vote, but I was mistaken in the vote of New York. I did not then fully comprehend the counting powers of Tammany hall. [Laughter and applause.]

I predict here to-night that the nominee of the Philadelphia Convention will be elected President of the United States. Republicans of the great commercial capital of the Republic! Let us be kind and conciliatory, and treat our erring friends, not as enemies, but as temporarily estranged comrades. If they, against our remonstrances, protests, and entreaties, turn away from us and bid us farewell, they will then have proved false to political associations and friendships, and recreant to their own past acts and recorded opinions. [Loud applause.]

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